SECRET SPRINGS

OF THE

LATE CHANGES in the MINISTRY FAIRLY EXPLAINED.

By AN HONEST MAN

IN ANSWER

To the Abuse and Misrepresentations of a pretended Son of CANDOR.

HILLW

An Introductory Letter to the PRINTER of the Public Advertiser.

Extinuti te, meque, FRATER, populumque, patresque Sidonios, urbemque tuam: VIRG.

LONDON:

Printed for T. BECKET and P. A. DE HONDT, near Surry Street, in the Strand, MDCCLXVI.

Price One Shilling and Six Pence

SCORET SPRINGS

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I ATE CHANGES in the MINISTRY FAIRLY IX LAINED,

WAN MERCANDINAN.

To the Moule and Mil epiclement of of pretainfied Con of Cavidon. 14 9



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Defined to, modue, the CER, popularized, extrappus Stein a viterique tiene. VLAG.

LONDON: Printed for T. Brench and P. A. Dallondy, near Burry River, in the Swand. AN KADOUM

[Price One Stilling and Sixe one opinit]

Advertisement

THE Author declares that he is refolved to scorn all abusive replies; and
never to resume his pen upon this subject,
unless it be to confute, or to adopt, such
fair and decent Arguments, as may deserve
his notice.

Advertisement

folved to form all abraive replies; and never to refuse the pan upon this fub est, unless it be to confirm, or to adopt, fuch fair and decent Arguments, as may deferve his notice.

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

TO THE

PRINTER of the PUBLICK ADVERTISER.

SIR,

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ITTLE did I dream of ever becoming one of your Correspondents, and much less of ever intruding upon the Public with a pamphlet of my own composition, when I fatisfied, last Summer, the curiofity of one of my friends in the country, about the change which had then happened in the Ministry: But the publication of an Extract of my Letter in one of your Papers, has drawn fuch a load of fcurrilous abuse upon myself, and such a heap of incoherent and vain boafting stuff upon the Public, from a Writer who stiles himself a Son of Candour. that I think it incumbent upon me to clear myfelf of his imputations; and at the same time to keep the Publick rightly informed, as far

as relates to the contents of the faid Extract of my Letter.

I can affure the Public on the faith of an bonest man, which is a title I have always preferred to every other I might have affumed, that it was written in a private manner, on the following occasion. A friend of mine who refides the greatest part of the year in the country, has formerly made his tour abroad, as well as myfelf, and as we have both acquired a pretty great facility in converfing and writing in French, we have always endeavoured to keep it up between us, as well at a distance as near one another. My Letter to him was in answer to one of his, wherein, amongst other French chitchat, he expressed his own and neighbourhood's aftonishment at the fingularity of the change which had happened, and defired my information and opinion about it, which I very freely gave him in the same language; and as I knew his politics to differ pretty much from my own, I must confess, I wrote more fully and more feelingly upon it, than I would otherwise have done. How it happened, a long time afterwards, that this political

fitical part of my Letter came to be fo literally translated into our own language, and published in one of your Papers (under a date which I could hardly remember, and made me almost overlook it,) is best known to the Gentleman who fent it you, and who did it the honour to introduce it with a Letter of his own. My Friend in the country . denies his having had any hand in it, though I have promised him not to be angry at it, provided he has concealed my name, as he feems to-have frictly done: knowing that I should hate to engage myself with political Adversaries of the present Stamp. But I am too great a lover of truth, not to confess, that I was rather pleased than displeased, when I faw my intelligence make its first appearance in print, as I thought it to be one of the best and most compendious accounts the Public had received, of the true causes of the change in question. I have fufficient reason to persist in this opinion; from whatever, fince that time, I have learnt in private, as well as from what I have feen in print; notwithstanding the bombast rhapfody of the pretended Son of Candour.

This

This man, whether Lord or Gentleman, or whatever he be, has attacked me in such an unfair, illiberal, and ungentleman-like manner, that this alone shews sufficiently, what a wide difference there must be between his assumed title and his character, as well as between his character and my own.

I should think it an injury done to the Public, to suppose that his political sentiments can have gained any credit, by his tedious, scurrious and vain endeavours to find out who I am. What would he say, if he were to discover that I was a military man of good repute in the Army, and of great distinction in the world? But I should think it very imprudent, and beneath myself, to give him the satisfaction, or mortification, to know who I am, without previously knowing who he is, in order to judge whether he deserves it or not.

I shall only assure, not him, (for I do not care what men of his stamp think of me) but the Public in general, that the account I have already given of the Birth of my Letter, and of its subsequent publication,

is true. That as to myself, I am pretty well known amongst high and low of all Parties: That no man in the kingdom can fcorn more than I do to abuse any man in writing, or in conversation; I do not fay for money, it is beneath me to mention it. but for whatever confideration of fuperior value it may be: That I detest all Slavery; am a lover of true Liberty by inheritance, and rather inclined to the excess than the restraint of it: That I have given proofs of this, at the hazard of my life, and at the expence of very valuable confiderations: That my fituation in the world has enabled me, this long while, to compare notes of intelligence from all quarters, as well as to reflect more cooly than others, on different Men and Measures; and to form from thence my own opinions: That I imparted these, and no suggested ones, to my friend; and that I will certainly perfift in them as long as I see no better confutations of them than those I have hitherto met with, either in conversation or in writing. But that as soon as any man will produce better intelligence or opinions than my own, he will find me open to conviction, and ready to make a public acknow-

acknowledgment of it. In the mean while I flatter myself that no impartial or intelligent reader can have taken for confutations, the false and filly aspersions and affertions of my illiberal Adversary, This anti-candid son of Candour, instead of shewing from superior authority, wherein the Public has been misinformed, thro' the publication of my Letter, fets out with his guess-work, of who, or what I am; makes of me what he pleases; and then makes me write and think what I never wrote or thought. After having thus planned a large field for himself, and erected a castle in his own imagination, he batters it with bubbles of the same airy composition, and fcatters them about on all fides, till he is quite out of breath, and forced to lye down, and rely on Futurity for the rest of his glorious atchievements. In the mean while he has recourse even to my affistance, to cool his heated imagination, and to quiet his poor disturbed brain, with my refreshing wish, that all may turn out for the best. Thus far he refembles Don Quixote to a hair; but then the renowned knight of La Mancha was in the main a harmless soul, and had the best intentions in the world. Instead of emontrice. which, .

which, this Don Candid is an arch rogue. who only plays the knight-errant to ferve his own turn, at the expence of whatever comes in his way; and for all his having recourse to my own Balsam, has the malice to infinuate at the fame time, how glad he would be, if Futurity would bestow such a reproof on the ingenuity and honest intentions of my Letter, as his artful Don Quixotism has not been able to do; and consequently, that he only adopts my wish for his present ease, and in the hopes that one day or other, all may turn out for the worfe. But to be short, and serious, the whole tenor. of his performance is nothing but a mixture of falshood and abuse.

The reasons he has to conceal himself are as obvious as different from my own. Besides his direct slander of Men, who by their present situations are above him, whatever he may be in other respects; and not to mention his implied reslections on M—yitself; he abuses in a base and scurrilous manner, a man he knows nothing of, upon no other foundation than a difference in intelligence, and consequently in opinion, on public Men

and Measures; and when he comes to speak of these, he substitutes his own false affertions and reflections, to all known facts and consequential arguments.

I shall leave the impartial world to judge whether there is any thing like this in the Extract of my Letter; the whole of which is founded upon the most publick and most authentic reports, from whence I derive my arguments very fairly; and my reflections and wishes are confistent with true Patriotism as well as with loyalty. I therefore am fo far from apprehending any mischief to myself (in case I should ever happen to be known) from its having appeared in print, contrary to my original intention, that I take this public opportunity of professing myself beholden to the Gentleman who has found means to usher it into the world through the channel of your paper: and had the pretended fon of Candor shewn himself worthy of the title he assumes, by a fair and candid exposition and disquisition of my Sentiments, I would have been obliged even to him for his own edition of it. But fince he has been fo unmannerly as to have it reprinted with palpable

pable mistakes of the press, and so unfair as to lay hold of this for one of the topics his abuse, and of his false as well as filly misconstructions of it, I have thought it necessary to lay it now myself before the Public, with such illustrating notes as will shew at once, the malice and fallacy of his dark infinuations with respect to myself, as well as the grounds of my intelligence, and the solidity of my inferences; in opposition to his airy pretensions to a superior knowledge, and his rhapsodical endeavours, to seduce the Public into a belief, that the two samous brothers-in-law are like twins in ministerial skill, and political principles.

However, before I conclude, I must do Don Candid the justice to confess, that he has obliged the Public, at the expence of a great deal of art and labour, with the discovery of one single truth among all his falshoods; a truth indeed! tho of very little importance, and which the meanest dabbler in politics would have pointed at, and taken for granted at first sight, viz. That 1 am a friend to the cause of the E—— of B——e.

But then he has bedaubed that very truth with fo many dirty colours, that it is as like the rest of his deceptions as well can be. I must therefore in justice to the Earl, solemnly declare to the Public, over and above what I have already faid in my own behalf, that when I wrote my Letter, as well as when I faw the extract of it in print, the E- of B-e had never had any direct nor indirect knowledge of my being one of his Advocates; that long before, and ever fince, I never had the least intercourse with himfelf, and very, very little with any of his friends; and that it is not a very long while ago, that by the means of some of the latter, I did send him very freely my fincere opinion on his unaccountable neglect, in fuffering the people to continue in that unjust unfortunate, and dangerous odium, which they had been, and were still daily inspired with, against him, by so much public calumny, flander, and abuse, as the newspapers were filled with; and that I thought it high time, and his duty towards his K-g and Country, as well as himself and family, to vindicate his honour and reputation,

tation, in the same public manner as they had been attacked.

Whether this has had any effect upon his own mind, I have not been able to learn; but I have fince feen with pleafure, that there have already appeared in your Papers, other fuch convincing justifications of his character and conduct, that unless the Public should read. nothing but the unwarranted, unsupported. (though thousand times repeated) lies, that are thrown out against him; and prefer the false wit and ridicule with which they are kept up, to the authentic facts and found arguments which have appeared in his defence, it is impossible that the nation can still persist in an odium, founded upon nothing but detected and confuted flander and calumny. The Earl has always been blamed, by many of his friends, from the moment he appeared on the stage, for not having minded enough the dangerous effects which the full scope and impunity of fuch infamous, and unexampled abuse, would at last produce amongst the generality of the People. He ought to have taken up the cudgels and thrust them C2

into the hands of the ablest pen-men he could get, whether volunteers or mercenaries, for the vindication of his Majesty's confidence in his Counfels, as well as for the honour of Government and his own reputation. He was, unfortunately for this Kingdom, too much the man of honour, for using the means and tools employed by Ministers in support of their power: He scorned too much the mean and nauseous task of purchasing men whom he could not but despise, at the expence of his fincerity, and with favours they did not deserve. He would otherwise have had a Churchill, and a Wilkes, at his elbow, and have furnished them with materials of truth and found politics, instead of the scurrilous falshoods, and seditious tenets, which their talents were employed in. He was, moreover, too much cut out for council and cabinet, to make the best of a drawing room: His mind was too elevated for the secondary views and functions of a minister; and he was too intent upon the objects on which the preservation and the welfare of a whole People depended, to mind fufficiently how far his own was at stake; and what share it deserved

deserved in his attention, for the better execution of his falutary defigns. He would otherwise have instructed and authorized his friends, from the beginning, to publish fuch truths as he alone was possessed of, and entitled to communicate, to the ruin of falshood, before it had made such deep and lamentable impressions on the minds of the People. He would, in imitation of Mr. Pitt, not have scrupled to disclose whatever secrets he might have thought proper, in order to instruct the Public with his motives, first, for refigning his public station, and afterwards, for totally withdrawing his affiftance from his fucceffors. and his advice from his King. He would not have confided fo long in the notion, that his integrity, and the purity of his intentions, with a suitable conduct and deportment in his retreat, would be fufficient to withstand, and at last overset all the efforts of inveterate envy and malice: and he would not have been fo reluctant in furnishing his friends with those few materials which they have latterly thought it necessary to extort from him; and to publish (as I am affured by some of them of undoubted veracity). not merely in vindication of his character, but of the highest, and sacredest one amongst us.

This fo much superior object of theirs, makes me confider how much I, as an anonymous writer, must beg the Public's pardon for having detained them so long with a vindication of myself: But I confess that my way of thinking in this respect is so different from the E. of B--'s, that I am apt to run into the other extream. I never conceived a better opinion of a certain Member of the Lower House, than when he vindicated his honour, by lodging a ball in the belly of his known and avowed traducer, though at the hazard of his own life. An objection, however, which I had to this honourable act of bravery, (befides some others concerning the public interest) was, the disparity between the value of the two combatants; which was so much out of all proportion, that, in my opinion, the offender had more deservedly been punished by the laws of his country, than shot, at the hazard of making his escape, with an additional guilt, in case chance

chance had favoured him. But I feel how difficult it would be for myself to weigh all these considerations, in case of a similar provocation. This is one of my chief motives for not declaring at once who I am; as it would probably expose me to some abuse or other, from an Anti-Sejanus, a Detector, an Anglus, or some other libeller, whose identical person might at last become too conspicuous, to be overlooked. It would otherwise certainly have been the shortest way, to shake off that burthen of infamous epithets which Don Candid has had the difhonesty to load me with, and to throw them into his own face. But then, confidering moreover how the fairest characters amongst us have often been painted to the nation. and of which the E. of B--'s is fuch a glaring instance, how could I, for G--d's fake, flatter myself to parry the foul stabs of anonymous character-murderers? Their furprizing quickness, and unweariness, in framing and propagating lies, would perhaps oblige me to keep half a dozen paper-readers, and as many scribes, employed to detect and destroy their lies in their infancy; and I must own, that unless the Public would previously affign

affign me a good round annuity, equivalent to the emoluments of a Secretary of State, or a first Lord of the Treasury, I should be loath to incur such a trouble and expence. I therefore hope the Public will excuse me, and curse Don Candid, for having provoked me to this intrusion on them, by traducing me before their tribunal; and that, after having honoured with a fair and impartial perusal, my following genuine edition of the traduced Extract of my Letter, and the very interesting notes I have bestowed on it, they will be convinced that I am

their Humble Servant,

and

AN HONEST MAN.

COPY OF THE LETTER

By which the Extract of my own, was transmitted to the Printer of the Public Advertiser; and in which, it seems, that the
Gentleman who wrote it, thought proper
to disguise the manner in which he got
the Extract, by concealing from the Public
that it was originally written in French;
and by pretending, that he had it from
my friend in the country, which the
latter (as I have already observed) absolutely denies.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser. S I R.

The late Administration have, for some Time past, smarted pretty severely under the discipline of some of your correspondents; and though their emissaries have laboured with so much activity to interest the Public on their side, and spared no pains to make those popular in disgrace, who had done so much to deserve Unpopularity when they were in power; yet, in spite of all that has been produced in their desence, it is now tolerably well known, that they have not owed their fall to the instuence of any supposed Favourite, but to the spirit of

their

their justly offended P-, whom they first bad the baseness to betray, and then thinking they had him at their mercy, had the folly to insult.

Much bas already been said by several of your correspondents to place this memorable Transaction in its true light : however, I believe your readers will peruse, with pleasure and instruction, the following Letter, the writer of which seems to have had full as good information as the renowned Anti-Sejanus. You may be affured it was really sent, by the post, to a Gentleman in a distant county, where I lately was upon a visit. I liked it so much, upon being favoured with the perusal of it, that I defired a copy, with a view, as I told my friend, to make it public; being perfuaded, that if the people of England, Sometimes, had political intelligence conveyed to them by such persons as this Letter-writer, the peace of the kingdom would not be so much endangered, as it often is, by the inflammatory manifestos of faction.

I am, SIR,

Your constant Reader,

H. S.

EXTRACT OF MY LETTER.

As it was dated and inserted under the foregoing introduction, in the Public Advertiser of Thursday the 5th of September, 1765, and now divided into seven sections, in order to facilitate the application of my Notes to every one of them.

London, July 20, 1765.

As to the astonishment in your distant part of the country, at the present change of the Ministry, I can easily believe it; since we that are on the spot, and consequently more able to foresee such events, were not a little surprized at it ourselves: not so much, however, at the dismission of the late Ministers, as at the choice of their successors. But though I do not wonder at your surprize, I doubt much whether this change, as striking as it is, will be able to remove your prejudices, with respect to the pretended influence of the Earl of B—e, on all what the K—does, or resolves to do.

NOTE.

Long before I wrote to my friend, and even before he went into the country, I had met with some opportunities, which come not often within the reach of many men, of whatever Rank or station they may be, to enquire into the truth of the notion, which was then fo univerfally prevailing of the E- of B-'s fecret influence over the K-g's councils, notwithstanding his pretences to the contrary, and his confequential retirement to Luton. The refult of my enquiries and observations was a thorough conviction of the falfity of that notion. This could not but revive in my breast, the warmth with which I had efpoused the Earl's cause on some former occasions; and in particular when I happened to converse with my friend in question; who, notwithstanding the strong indications I had given him of the grounds of my conviction, as far as I could with propriety, went into the country without being cured of his prejudices in this respect. I alluded to this. when I called the change which had happened, a striking instance in support of my conconviction; fince it was impossible to suppose, that the E— of B— would advise the K— to call into power his professed enemies, and to let them begin their Ministry by removing most of his friends. But as I knew what prepossessions men are capable of, I could not help expressing a sarcastical doubt, whether even this, would be able to convince him.

SECT. II,

—I hope, however, that this Prince will find means, sooner or later, to convince you all, that he did not want to be influenced by any body to feel and to resent the behaviour of some of his late servants towards himself; and that he had magnanimity and resolution enough of his own, to rid himself of their arrogance, and his people of their insufficiency, by forgetting and forgiving the past conduct of this new Set of Men.

NOTE.

I must confess, that I am one of those that had been greatly affected with the reports of what passed in the cabinet, between the King and his Ministers, whilst the change

was

was in agitation; and no less with the neceffity which his M-was at last, seemingly reduced to, of calling into his own, and the national fervice, some men, who were reputed, not only to have obstructed and opposed all his measures, without distinction, during the time of a very critical conjuncture, but also to have countenanced the licentious and unlawful reflections of our first political firebrand. I was, therefore, greatly struck with this event; and the more fo, as I had before that time been informed, that though the K-g had been highly offended with the late Ministry's conduct in the Regency Bill, and that he was very fenfible of their not having carried on the national bufiness to satisfaction, his M-y had refolved (after Mr. P-tt's being prevented by Lord T--- from taking the lead) to give them once more the fullest scope and countenance they could defire, for enabling them to go on with more fuccess and popularity: That upon this account, and no other, the K-g had not only suffered Mr. M-e to be deprived of a place he had promised him for life, and confented to the dismission of the Earl of 21277

of N-d, and of Lord H-d, but alfo, that, with all the motives of reluctance which might naturally be supposed, He did afterwards go on and transact business. with them, with the best grace imaginable. I had, therefore, been very inquifitive about the occasion of this sudden and final alteration; and had been informed from very good authority, that, not contented with all thefe Royal condescentions, the D. of B-in name of them all, had given fuch a new offence to the K-g, by an expostulation founded on the most absurd, and most arrogant doubts of the Royal fincerity towards them, that it had put his M-y to the ne plus ultra of his patience: That it had engaged him, rather to forget, and forgive, offences that had been owing to real disappointments of ambition, and to a fort of rage at not sharing in his favours, than to take up with infults, founded in imaginary ones, from fuch men as did then actually enjoy from his Royal favour and indulgence, whatever they could in reason aspire to, or wish for: That in consequence of this resolution, he had sent for his Uncle, to consult with his R. H .--who

who being sensible of the necessity to resent, a behaviour of this nature, and not to expose M—y to any further intercourse with men of that temper, had accepted and executed the K—g's commission, of opening a door for the present Ministry.

This information, and the effects it had upon me, I was still full of, when I wrote to my friend; and my knowledge of his and his company's way of thinking, gave me occasion to express myself with some warmth on the subject, and in the same unguarded manner as I would have done in conversation, without dreaming then of my Letter becoming public. For though I am no professed author, I would otherwise have endeavoured to be a little more formal and methodical in writing on a topic, no less delicate, than affecting and interesting to the Public. Don Candid, however, pretends, that it is with labour I have been able to ascribe the dismission of the late Ministry to the K-g's own magnanimity and refolution; and that I did it with a view, to divert the eye from the true cause of it, which he endeavours, with a labour very different from my own,

to

to make the world believe, was nothing elfe than the E. of B-'s continued influence with the K-g; and his prodigious desire to be revenged of their having unplaced his This indeed, with a view to justify Lord T----'s conduct, in his oppofition to Mr. P-tt, is the main purport of Don Candid's performance; and to succeed in it, he repeats in a darker, more irregular, and less entertaining manner, than Anti-Sejanus, and other abusive writers, all their vile stuff of bare affertions and fafcinating inferences. These have been so fully exposed and confuted, by men that are professed masters of their pen, that I should think it ridiculous in me to repeat, in my turn, all they have faid to open the eyes of the Public on this once dark, but, at present, conspicuous subject. I shall only observe, that this candid Author, who pretends, likewife, that I am not scrupulous enough in drawing the cabinet-curtain, does not scruple to publish a whole volume of insolent impertinence, with a vain and ridiculous attempt to penetrate into the inmost recesses of his M-y's own R-l bosom; and this, in a direct criminal contradiction to what is

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now well known to have been afferted and verified behind that very curtain, and even with a vengeance, in answer to the late Ministry's expostulatory suspicions.

As to my labour to divert my friend's, or (as Don Candid supposes) the Public's eye, from the E. of B-'s influence, the charge is too filly not to be looked upon as fuch, by every reader who hath the least common sense. He should have said, that my labour, if he would make me so laborious, was to rail a little at my friend, (in his sense the Public) for his being so prepossessed with a notion of the E---'s influence, that I almost doubted whether what had happened, and what I was going to tell him, would be able to cure him of it; and that the whole tendency of my Letter, was a denial of that influence, instead of a diverfion from it; as well as an endeavour to shew him the true reasons, why he himself, and the Public in general, had been prepossessed with such a notion from other quarters,

ming convenience to water

This would have had some appearance of truth, except, that had I writ for the Public, as I do at present, I would have been as explicit in my Letter as I now intend to be in this, and my subsequent notes; but, writing in French to a friend, whose latitude of political knowledge I was acquainted with. I observed the French maxim, à bon entendeur demi mot suffit. I must, however, allow, that I was myfelf very much diverted from the object in question, by my feelings, for the untoward fate of the best of Princes. as well as for the distractions of the State; and the reader must easily have perceived, that I wrote too much from the heart, to be pregnant with any deep defign. This is not the case with Don Candid, and the rest of the late Ministry's champions, nor with the present Ministry's advocates. withstanding all the virulent abuse on one fide, and all the acrimonious censures on the other, both parties feem to have agreed, that it is necessary for them, to divert the eye of the nation, from the real causes of our difunion at home, and late mismanagements abroad; by making the E. of B---'s very E 2 exist-

ANALYSIN STANS

existence, the magical source of all evil and mischief, as well as the perpetual object of the public attention.

The difgraced Ministers will have it, in spite of events that fpeak for themselves, that his influence has continued, and does continue to be fuch, that it is bim, who has turned them out, and placed their successors; and that, by their means, he now rules. The prefent Ministers, who have been, and continue to be convinced, from their own experience, that there is nothing in all this; and that they had themselves been deceived, in suspecting him to be the influencer of the milmanagements of their Predeceffors, as well as of their difgrace, persist, however, to charge him in their turn, though in other terms, with being the original Author of their own former difgrace; and confequently, of all the bad consequences of their opposition, and all the misfortunes of the nation.

The fallacy of those pretences from both parties, and their endeavours to clear themfelves, at the expence of a man, whose unpopularity is owing to the Minority management

magement of the one, and the Ministerial mismanagements of the other, has been sufficiently proved, and exposed by the decent and sensible Papers that have lately appeared in favour of the injured Earl; and I shall only add my share to it, as far as it results from my elucidations, on the remaining part of the published Extract of my private Letter; which, by the favour of Don Candid, he stiles, and is really become, "a very extraordinary production."

SECT III.

If thefe are grown wife by the fate of their Predecessors, they will strive to please the nation by better measures than an attempt to betray their Royal Master into the passing of an act, derogatory to the honour of his crown and family; and by a better and more decent conduct, than that of so ungratefully and ungracefully slying in his face.

NOTE.

Had I writ my Letter originally and intentionally for the Public, I would perhaps have shewn good manners enough, to have treated the new Ministry with the compli-

ment,

ment, of supposing beforehand, that they would of course strive to please the nation in the manner I expressed it. I am afraid it is now too late to recall entirely my appearance of a doubt in this respect: Not that I do them the injustice to believe, that they will not endeavour to rectify some measures of their predecessors; and to carry on the national business with spirit and activity; but I have some fears, from what I have obferved in fome publications which bear the marks of their authority, that on the one hand, they may be liable from being too fanguine, as well as from a biaffed judgment in favour of fuch former tenets. as had well nighly ruined us for ever, to run into errors of a different nature from those of their predecessors, and in my private opinion of a still more dangerous tendency; and that on the other hand, their endeavours to gain popularity, at the expence of the E. of B-, by continuing to traduce his principles, and the most falutary as well as fuccessful measures of his Ministry, in a most unfair and abusive manner, will not only ftir up some equitable Patriots to suspect, and detect, the true motives of all their former clamour, and present shame to retract; but likewise impair (in spite of all outward appearances) that cordial obliteration of their past conduct, in the most amiable and most important heart in the Kingdom; which, by a more moderate, just, and magnanimous conduct, they might otherwise convert into the most lasting benevolence, considence, and support.

After this apology for not rectifying my former expression of an uncivil doubt of what the present Ministry's conduct and fate will be, (and which I confess was then unguarded and ill-timed) I shall now return to their predecessors, and explain what I understand, not by their attempt to make the K-g pass the Regency Bill in the manner every body knows, but by their ungrateful and ungraceful flying in his face; and even this should not have wanted a comment, had not Don Candid thought proper to make out, in his perverse manner, that I must mean by it, their prevailing upon the K-g to facrifice Mr. M---e to their want of popularity. I could almost take an oath upon it, that whilft I was scrawling that Letter to

my

my friend, I never once thought of Mr. M---e, nor his dismission; but only of some instances I had learnt of those gentlemen's short and peremptory replies to his M-y; and more especially of that expostulation by which the D. of B-, in the name of them all, put an end to his M-y's indulgence, and to their own Ministry. to the epithets of ungrateful and ungraceful, need I fay, that the one relates to the brilliant finiation and circumstances of some of those Gentlemen at that time, to what they had been some time before? And the other, to the indecent or ungraceful manner in which that expostulation was delivered? But fince I have been mentioning the Regency Bill, I must take notice of Don Candid's effrontery in referring me to the E-of B-e himself, for information about a fact which I knew already to be as much falfified as his whole account of that transaction.

All the world knows, how much his M—y was offended with his ministers for the FAMOUS amendment to the Bill, which was afterwards rectified; as not being conformable to his own meaning, in what

It is no less known, that the K-g, notwithstanding their pretended zeal in rectifying the mistake, not of their own accord, but in compliance with his subsequent commands, was far from being reconciled to their previous conduct on that occasion.

This shews in what light his M-y did look upon it, fince every body who knows any thing of the character of this Prince, must be perfuaded, that it is not in his nature to difgrace any man for an unwilful error or neglect, which he should af--terwards have made amends for, by his zeal and vigilance in preventing the effects of it. -I question whether the late Ministry themfelves would not rather incur any other cenfure, than that of having acted undefignedly (as Don Candid pretends) in the whole course of this affair; and consequently, of their having known fo little of their R-1. M-r's mind, as to imagine, that it could be his meaning to wound his own honour, in bestowing a public mark of disrespect on the

the Royal Princess who gave him to the world; and to whom (after his Royal Confort) he owes the greatest affection, as well as the most grateful and most dutiful of all regards.

I leave it to every fensible reader to judge, whether it was possible, that men of their rank, and education, whatever their inabilities might be, could be guilty of an idea of this nature; or whether, in case (if I may be allowed to make such a monstrous supposition) they had thought they had the least soundation for such a construction of his M—y's meaning, they ought not, with all due respect, to have remonstrated against it, even at the hazard of incurring as honourable a disgrace, as their present one savours of the reverse.

But the whole of this transaction is now fo well known, that I would have taken as little notice of Don Candid's misrepresentations of it, as I do of all his other trash of the same value, were it not to lay hold of this opportunity, to give the reader, once

fires than that of barray sould and

for all, a sample of the veracity of his facts, by exposing that single one, which he dares to appeal for, to the E—— of B——. I shall therefore give his own words, of which the malicious intent is easily perceived; and I shall then refer the reader, to what I have good authority to affert, and which will enable him, to judge of Don Candid's candour, in this and the rest of his allegations.

His words are these:

POR STA

" Our Letter-writer may have informa-

" tion from L B himself, that

" he, fitting in the House, pressed L-

"H-x to propose the limiting words a

" day before he did it, and for this reason

" did he press it, as he himself said, that

" it would make an end of the debate,

" and because he knew he then had the

" authority for doing it."

My affertion is this:

L—B—told L—H—x, that the alterations proposed by this Secretary of State, of born and usually residing, &cc. were still liable to exception. That the best way

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was.

was, to put it at once to the Male-Iffue of the late King. This L- B- confidered undoubtedly as the shortest method of complying with H. R. H. the Princess Dowager's defire, to be excluded; and perhaps as the only one to do it, without exposing her voluntary exclusion to misreprefentation. But L- B- had not the least knowledge, or conception, of the amendments afterwards proposed, by which the Female Issue of his late M-y were included; and confequently the K-g's Royal Mother alone excepted. By this, H. R. H's. exclusion, became such a one, as no man, in his senses, could imagine to be agreeable to the K-g's intention, nor to her own. This, I fay, the E- of Be had not the least notion, nor intimation of, till he heard with great furprize, L H propose it in the House of Lords, as in the name of his M-y.

SECT. IV.

If not, I do not doubt but the people will for once open their eyes, and perceive, that their true interests are perpetually sacrificed to the ambition of such parties, as have no other view

view than to introduce, each in their turn, a perfect, though disguised Aristocracy, under the shadow of a monarchical Government, by monopolizing the whole power of this most shining, and essential part of the constitution; and that in case of their success, they would (in imitation of some of their predecesfors under the late reign) care as little for the liberty of the subject, as they affect to do for the prerogative of the crown: whilf his present M- bas shewn in the dawning of his reign (by fuch acts and declarations as ought to endear bim for ever to a grateful people) that in preserving the right he has to chuse his Ministers, his sole view is no other than to maintain the constitution in its purest integrity.

NOTE.

It is clear, that if every Ministry in their turn, should behave towards the K— in the same manner, as it is but too well known that the late one, and some former Ministers, have done; that on every occasion of his M——y's not complying with whatever they might think proper to demand, and point out, in support (not of the Government's, but) of their own connective power, they

they should think fit to refign; and that thus the K-g for want of any more suitable perfons, or through the strength of their connections, should at last be obliged to submit to their extortions, there would certainly be an end of the monarchical part of the constitution. Royalty would be a mere pageantry; and the K-g's name, word, or fignature, no more than a fanction to the decrees of an oligarchy, which, having thereby in their absolute disposal all the great offices and honours of the crown, would be on that account perpetually supported by the ariflocratical part of the constitution; of which the balance would be in this manner entirely loft, and the democratical part on which the liberty of the subject depends, in danger of being reduced to the same mere formal and ideal existence, with that of the monarchical part of it. Thus I think to have explained my expectation, that if this should ever happen to be the case (which God forbid) the People would open their eyes, and perceive, that this grasping at an oligarchical power, is facrificing their most precious interest, to self-interest and ambition; and if in the warmth I wrote with,

in a private Letter, I have said any thing liable to a different construction, or not sit for
the Public, the Gentleman who published
it, and made it thereby his own, has made
himself answerable for it. But, as to Don
Candid's interpretation, as if I ascribed this
sort of ambition to the late Ministry's party,
exclusively of all others, it is as ridiculous as malicious; and still more so, his
nonsensical one, of my distinction, between
the monarchical, and the other parts of the
constitution, as well as between prerogative
of the crown, and liberty of the subject.

God forbid! that I should be so stupid and so perverse a member of the community, as to oppose prerogative to liberty, and liberty to prerogative: their very existence depends upon their union, and I consider them, as guardians of each other. And as to my calling monarchy, or royalty, the most shining, or shewy part of the constitution, I believe no body will deny the propriety of it; but it is false, and absolutely false, that I ever meant to call it, the most essential, instead of one essential part of it; and that it is the latter, I hope likewise, that no body will

will venture to deny; nor that the K-g has a right to choose his Ministers. If Don Candid's ludicrous, and infamous definition, of this right in his M-; and his other railings in modern dialect (as he terms it) does not come up to treason and sedition, there is in my humble opinion, an end of all bounds, to the most audacious and vilifying reflections on the throne, and the virtuous prince that fills it. If the present Ministry are conscious, of never having been themselves guilty, of the crime, which Don Candid fays, they were charged with in their Minority, of countenancing infults upon the throne: and that on the contrary, they have really (as I believe it to be the case) the honour of the crown, and of their benignant Royal Master, at heart; they are, I dare say, not remiss, in employing proper and warrantable means, to find out fuch delinquents as a Don Candid, and others of his stamp; and in case of their success, they will certainly not fail, of bringing them to justice by the laws of our country.

Such writers, instead of shewing the Public, in an authentic, and convincing manner,

ner, what bad counfels the Earl of Bhas ever given to his M-y; what artful, and unlawful means he has employed to get, fuch counsels adopted, not only by the K-g, but by the majority of his fellow-counsellors; what dishonourable or unreasonable motives he had for refigning; what witch-craft, or other diabolical means, he has fince that time employed, and still continues to employ, to influence the K-g, in fo invisible and inexplicable a manner: Instead, I say, of giving the least proof of such heavy charges, against one of their fellow-subjects; they dare infinuate, and more than infinuate, that our virtuous and magnanimous Monarch is entirely destitute of every sense or feeling, but that of a blind affection for a favourite, or a minion (as they call alternately a man of the E---'s age, and deportment) whose ideas, fentiments, and refentments, the K---g espouses, as mechanically as if he had never had any one of his own; and without any regard for himself, or his people: And that I may not be suspected, of overcharging this picture of their impudent insolence, I shall conclude this note with referring my readers, as well as the present Ministry themselves,

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to some of Don Candid's own words; as a specimen of the whole tenor, and spirit of his seditious endeavours, to debase both the K—g, and his Government in the eyes of the People.

After having tortured his brain, to give my words a different meaning from what they ever had, or could have, with respect to the Monarchical part of the Constitution, which I still call the most shining, and an effential part of it, he fays, "I brood over the worst " fort of monopoly I know, the dominion of " a Dictator in the Court, without the iname of an office in the State; a fingle " fubject, not so much as a servant of the " Crown, the creature of caprice and con-" juration, which converts M-y itself " into a mere pageant, makes Ministers ab-" folute cyphers, and Government wholly " unstable and DESPICABLE. I fee no-" thing of Shine or splendor; but all DARK, " CONTEMPTIBLE, REPROACHFUL," &c. And a little further, in order to prove (I leave the reader to judge how clearly and candidly) that I am one of those people of his own airy creation, who want one K-g before.

before, and another behind the curtain, he quotes, in his manner, what I have faid, viz. that the K-g has shewn that, in preserving the right he has to chuse his own Ministers, his sole view is to maintain the Constitution in its purest integrity. And after this quotation, curtailed and turned to his purpose, he then adds, "Few, how-" ever, will be deceived fo far as not to fee " that this in modern dialect means the " power of establishing minions; and hardly " any one is so ignorant of our own history " as not to know, that nothing eyer more " corrupted or defiled the Constitution than " these monsters, the race of which we were " in hopes had been utterly extinct in this " happy country," &c. And in another place, speaking of the present Ministry, " A " new Ministry, begot by the Favourite's refentment against the old, upon the bun-" ger of their successors; the cabinet confisting of young Privy-Counsellors, " created on purpose to compose it;---" Arthur's and Newmarket become semi-" naries of Administration; -- Ministers " made who have their manhood to prove," &c. &c. &c.

What

What ideas must the generality of the people, who, by their stations in life, and distance from this capital, know but little of their K-g, and his Court; what ideas, I ask, must they form to themselves of the one and the other, when they happen to meet with fuch strictures? I leave it to the reader to resolve the question; and likewise to determine, Whether such ideas must not be feeds of difloyalty, and fedition? Whether the fuggestions, and fuggestors of them, do not deserve the attention of the Legislature, as well as of the Government; in order to detect, and punish the suggestors; or at least, to declare, by Acts, and Proclamations, that their fuggestions are as false as malicious? And whether these are not the only means to prevent their further impressions, and such final effects, as I shudder to think on?

SECT. IV.

I likewise do not doubt, or at least hope, that in such a case the nation in general, and even those very parties (which often owe their strength to strange and unnatural connections) would not be so destitute of men of integrity and

and capacity, as to deprive the K—— of all means of forming a Ministry on true Principles of Patriotism, and consequently perfectly agreeable and conformable to his own.

NOTE.

It would be too obnoxious, and too endless a task, to follow Don Candid through all his mire, in order to point out, the dirtiest, and most offensive parts of it, in the confused manner in which he has scattered it I shall only say here, that notwithstanding all his filly applications, of this, and other parts of my Letter; and notwithstanding his infamous substitutions, of the Eof B-'s name, for the most facred one in the nation, with a ridiculous attempt to father them on my own meaning (which must be nauseous to every considerate reader;) I do repeat my expectation, and perfift in my hope, that in the case I have supposed, and explained in one of my preceding notes, (and which I heartily wish never to exist,) God Almighty will not have exhausted the whole nation, of all men of integrity, and capacity, to such a degree, as to disable his M-y, to form a Ministry of true Patriots; and there-

by to reduce the K-g, to submit himself, and his People, to the infolent dictates of a felfinterested oligarchy, under the specious name of a Ministry. I hope in God, I say, that the supposed case itself, and its dreadful consequences will never exist. Were I to speak here of the means of preventing it, one of them would be, to make Ministers as solemnly responsible to the nation, for the nature, and motives of their refignations, as they are already, for their plans, and execution of the K-g's measures: But this I must reserve for places of more consequence than Don Candid's rendezvous in a pamphletshop; where I am this moment intruded upon by one of his antagonists, who appears feemingly to fave me the trouble of fupporting the remaining part of my intelligence; and perhaps the only one which has flung him or his Patron to the quick. But this antagonist of his, who makes me for this moment lay down my pen, begins to strike me in another light. I shall therefore see what he fays, and give an account, of my opinion of him, in my following notes.

SECT. V.

Perhaps, that in such a case Mr. P-tt bimself would not decline (in Spite of his infirmities) to appear at the head of the rest; since it is actually affirmed by his own friends, as well as others, that this would already have bappened in the late bustle, bad not Lord T--- (to whom he is under a sacred engegement not to act without him) obstinately refused, not only to join with him, but even to give him the least reason for his refusals It is moreover assured, and highly probable, that Lord T --- 's motive for defeating Mr. P-tt's compliance with the K-'s commands, was no other, than the saving his brother Geo. ---, in consequence of their reconciliation; not being able to perfuade bimfelf, that after Mr. P-tt's being out of the question, the K- would resolve to bave recourse to any body else: but to the contrary, that his M- would overlook what had passed, and make the best of his untoward servants. He had at first some reason to think that he had gueffed right, and would perhaps bave succeeded in his scheme, had not the D. of B .-- , from the Same persuafion, continued 4

tinued in such a behaviour towards his Mas no private Man would have suffered in any one of his inferiors; and which determined the K- instantaneously, and of his own accord, to get rid of such provocations at any rate. -Thus it is, that Lord T-- bas had the misfortune to rob his brother-in-law, of the Glory of shewing his love for his country, and bis gratitude to his King, by rescuing the honour of the crown, and the interests of the nation, out of the hands of insolence and inability; not only without faving his brother Geo. - , but by depriving him perhaps of the very means of recovering from his fall. - And thus it is likewise, that according to our best intelligence, we owe the choice the K- bas made of his present M-ry, to no other influence than that of the over-bearing bead of one family, and the over-grown one of another, on their respective dependants. -1 heartily join with you and your neighbours in your wish, that it may all turn out for the best.

NOTE.

Don Candid's antagonist, I find, would be considered as one of the retained council

on the part of the present Ministry; and pretends to defend his clients against their prodigious share in Don Candid's abuse; by " a candid Refutation of the charges brought against them," in the rhapfody of this pretended Son of Candour; whom he supposes to be L T--- in person, or by proxy. Whether in this supposition he is right or wrong, I don't know: I wish the latter; for I would really be forry to have been betrayed into the necessity of bestowing on that L-, such a defence of myself as I have done on Don Candid. I would rather persuade myself, that both Don Candid and his antagonift. are men that write for bread; or who, from different motives, strive to pay their court, the one to Lord T---; and the other to the Ministry; without perceiving that they both hit it very wrong. Don Candid must indeed be a blockhead, to suppose, that L T-- (befides fo many other absurdities which he endeavours to father upon his p) can be pleased with the light in which he exposes his renowned brotherin-law, Mr. P-tt. For the whole of what can be concluded from his immense labour H

to justify L- 'T-'s conduct, in preventing Mr. P-tt from taking the lead, comes up to one of these two consequences: First, That Mr. P-tt, with all his known prowefs and fagacity, was, in his acceptance of the K-g's offer, either weak, or dim-fighted enough, to fubmit his own counsels, to the supposed over-ruling fecret ones of the Earl of B-; and that L-T-had the courage, and wisdom, to fave Mr. P-tt, in the same manner as he might have faved a child from falling into a fire; and even such an innocent babe, to whom it would have been needless to explain, why it was checked in its giddy motion. The fecond only consequence of Don Candid's defence of L-, in default of the other, would be, That Mr. P-tt should have been base enough, to deceive the K-, by a feigned compliance with his M-y's defire, in the perfuafion he was in, from a fecret understanding with L- T-; that the latter would rescue him from his engagements, by a peremptory refusal of joining with him; which junction was the only fine qua non of Mr. P-tt's conditions.

I cannot believe, in spite of Don Candid's antagonist, that L T, who has drawn so much honour (whatever his own personal merit may be) from the high opinion the world has conceived, of his brotherin-law's candour, and penetration, can ever have given his fiat to a performance, of which the validity would be so destructive of this opinion. Much less do I believe, that any man in the Kingdom would join with Don Candid, or even with L- T-- himself, in fuspecting Mr. P-tt of having acted so mean a part: But it may be easily credited, that L ---T-'s reconciliation with his brother Geo. and perhaps a consequential change in his political fentiments, was the true motive of his peremptory refusal. Don Candid, how dark and obscure soever in other respects. feems to have had fome knowledge of this change in L- 's politics; for nothing can be more plain, and strong, than his unsuccessful endeavours, to palliate the late Ministry's mismanagements, and to arraign the skill of the present one: in direct opposition to Mr. P---tt's well known biass, from a contemptuous detestation H 2

testation of the former, and some similitude of system with the latter.

It is, therefore, greatly probable, that though Don Candid did not perceive, the abovementioned confequences of his abfurd defence of L-, he must however have known, that his L-p wanted an exculpation; and likewife, how far he was biaffed in favour of the late, against the prefent Ministry: but then he ought to have drawn from hence that very same conclusion which he is abufing me for; and which is, after all, the only honourable method of excufing L --- 's conduct, viz. the ascribing it to his reconciliation with his brother G-, in favour of a persuasive justification of this Gentleman's political principles; and confequently, to a generous, though erroneous, resolution, of keeping his said brother and colleagues in full possession of their power; for the honour of fo near a relation, and perhaps, in his opinion, for the good of the nation; and in which, through the peremptory behaviour of another great manhe did unfortunately not succeed. For my part, I cannot but perfift in this opinion, which

which is in fact the fame which I had drawn from my intelligence, and which I communicated to my friend in a warmer, incorrect and unguarded manner. For to infinuate, as Don Candid does, that Lord T——'s knowledge or perfuafion of the E. of B——'s influence, was the motive of his refufal, would necessarily imply, that Mr. P—tt was on that occasion a f——l or a k——e, or at least that Lord T—— treated him as such; either of which, no man in his senses will consent to.

Before I dismiss this note, I must observe, that at first fight of Don Candid's antagonist, I was really in hopes, that he would have saved me great part of the trouble of it; instead of which, he contents himself on this head, with playing the fool a little, with the tenderness, and delicacies, which Don Candid ascribes to Lord T---; and then calls upon the latter, to explain the nature of them.

SECT III.

Perhaps this new Ministry may find means to support itself, in spite of its former and present Minority, by the additional weight of bis M—'s own interest, and by some patriotic measures of theirs, instead of selsish, imposing, and intriguing ones; if not, we must hope that they may give room for some such surther changes, as will at once be agreeable to both the K— and his people; whose mutual Wishes, I am fully persuaded, with all those that have the least knowledge of his M—'s personal character, are no less the same, than their Interests, provided no aristocratical parties, or cabals, sind means to make the latter clash, by hiding or disguising the former.

NOTE.

Here Don Candid has been roguishly silly, or sillily roguish, in laying hold of such a palpable mistake of the press, that the Gentleman who published the Extract of my Letter, did probably not think it worth his while; to get it corrected by an Erratum; and indeed I looked upon it in the same light, when I saw it for the first time in print. The mistake was a repetition of the word Ministry, instead of Minority, which made it such downright nonsense that this alone was sufficient for a reader of the meanest capacity, to find out the error, and supply

Supply the defect. But Don Candid's extravagant defire to debase a pen, which had been delivered (according to his opinion) by the midwifry of a news-paper, of a very extraordinary production, originally defigned for a more extensive communication, betrayed him into the foolish attempt, to father it on myself; and to make it a vehicle, for pouring some more of his own nonfense on the Public. I hope that with the restitution of the word Minority instead of Ministry, it will now have acquired fuch a fense, as all Don Candid's nonsense will not beable to invalidate; and fuch an energetic meaning, as did very well deferve a stricter attention on the part of his antagonist. This Gentleman, in giving the Extract of my Letter a fairer and sedater perusal, would perhaps have honoured it with a less filly epithet, than that of filly, as he calls it, in his Candid Refutation of Don Candid's rhapfody. He would probably have found out more eafily, or more willingly, than this pretended Son of Candour, from the unguarded, compact, and inaccurate manner in which it was wrote, that it was really the Extract of a private Letter, and not originally defigned for for the press, and then he might perhaps have called it, any thing except filly,

I am fenfible that the present Ministry must have laboured under great difficulties, when they first ventured upon their talk, on account of that public odium, which the E of B was loaded with, and which they had themselves so much fomented and supported in their Minority. I know (and I know it from their own quarters) how much they were astonished, when they discovered, in their new stations, how falfly the E- I had been accused by their Predeceffors, of thwarting their measures, by the fecret influence he preserved, and used upon the mind of his M-y. I know how much they were furprized, as well as vexed, at the artful impudence of the late Miniftry's champions, in afferting, that it was to the fame influence, that they themselves owed their present power, and that they were acting under that banner. I know what terms fome of them made use of against the late Ministry, for having behaved towards his M-y from mere fuspicion, (and notwithstanding Royal manifestations to 4

I know what censures they bestowed on that unjust and arrogant act, of reducing M—y to the necessity of recalling a Royal word, in order to deprive Mr. M— of the Privy Seal for Scotland, instead of contenting themselves, with his resigning all Ministerial functions in that department; and all this, in consequence of their groundless or affected suspicions of the influence of his brother, and to gain popularity at the expence of an injustice.

I know, what professions they made of their resolution, to shew the greatest regard for the E—'s person and character; in return for the sincerity, and steadiness of his retreat, from the K—g's councils, and his M—y's private ear.

But I know, likewise, how monstrously afraid they were, that the notions so industriously instilled into the minds of the people, of the E—l's continued influence; and consequently of their having inlisted, and acting under his banner, would involve them in that same odium, which they had so much

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contributed to raise against him. I know. that they would have been just and generous enough, not to revenge fuch of their friends, as had drawn their dismissions upon themselves, by over-acting their parts; at the expence and to the ruin of innocent persons, had they not been afraid of shewing the least regard for the most distant friends of the E-l, except such, which, from other confiderations, they could not part with. And I know, beyond a doubt, that they would have had the glory, which Mr. P-tt had proposed to himself (in case Lord Thad not prevented his taking the lead) of restoring Mr. M—— to his place, had they not trembled at the thought of lofing all claim to popularity, by this fole act of juftice. I can protest that in this respect, I have more than once pitied their fituation, but, I cannot approve, that they did not bid a more open defiance, to the ridiculous tale of their being chosen and acting under the E-1's influence: That they did not declare to the nation, in a folemn and authentic manner. That they would despise all unpopularity founded on such false, unwarranted, and seditious cla-

mours.

mours. That they had been convinced from their present situation, as well as from the highest authority, of the falsity of the reports of the E-of B-'s continuing to influence the K-g's national councils openly or privately: That they had thought it proper to quiet the People's minds in this respect; and to engage themselves to the nation, not to fuffer the K-g's councils to be overruled in any unwarrantable manner, either public or private, but to refign their places in case of an irresistable attempt of this nature: That they were resolv'd to adopt or reject, political systems and measures, not from any partiality, for or against any of their predecessors, or competitors; but by the means their stations afforded them, of verifying, correcting, or improving their former judgments in matters of this nature: That they would lay aside, or bury in oblivion, whatever could not be made conducive, to the discharge of their own duties, and to the amendment or advancement of the national business. That to this purport, they would divest themselves of all resentment for past injuries, real or imaginary,

in favour of their present power, honours, emoluments, and more important occupations. That for the same salutary end, they would endeavour to restore union in the kingdom, by an impartial disposal of places and employments; and by doing justice to the nation, as well as to individuals, in the choice of persons of capacity and integrity, without any unjust regard for their own connections. In short, that they would despise all means of acquiring, or preserving their popularity, at the expence of truth and justice.

Such a fort of public declaration, which might have required some further efforts of true greatness of soul, would have done them infinite honour. This would have been, and would still be, acting like men. I wish it may not be too late; but I fear that they have not been enough aware of the trap laid for them by the late Ministry's champions. These knew very well, what effect it would have upon such minds, to be charged with holding their places under the influence and guidance of a man, against whom they have so bitterly inveighed, and whose unpopulative

rity was originally their own work. These knew likewise, or rather they flattered themfelves, that it would be easy for them, to keep up this slander and calumny, even at the expence of fuch a Ministry, as would not dare to curb their infolent impudence, nor do openly justice to the innocence of a man, whom they had themselves abused in their Minority, whatever alteration there might fince have happened in their opinions of him, or their fentiments towards him. I fear, I fay, that the late Ministry's champions were but too well founded, in their judgment, of the effects which their scheme would produce on the part of men, who had formerly gone such length in their Minority principles and conduct. It would require indeed a very extraordinary share of fortitude of mind, and greatness of foul in them, to confider calmly, by the glorious (I hope not too dazling) light, which their present stations afford them; whether they were not carried too far, and led aftray, by the incendiary torches that guided them in their Minority; and in case of such a discovery, openly to declare, and repair it, by their ministerial conduct.

I wish I had no reasons, if not to despair, at least to have but little hopes of this, when I reflect on what I faw written on their part fome time ago, with marks of their authority, under the title of their merits truly flated; and which drew upon them a very fevere reproof in a news-paper from an antiminority writer, who called himself an antiminor, and whose performance I really think, bore the marks of an old wizard. I fear that the late Ministry's champions, have had but too much success in betraying the present one, into the continuation of an erroneous conduct; I have observed, with pleafure, that they have failed in their fecond view, of keeping up and corroborating the public odium so unjustly thrown upon the E of B e.

It feems that the friends of this nobleman were roused by the clashing of the late and present Ministry's arms; and that finding how ungenerously those adversaries endeavoured to screen themselves on both sides, behind that odium, by extending it as far as they could; they rushed in between them, and demolished by their repeated efforts, the foundations of that

that monstrous machine. In this, I think, they did the present Ministry a great piece of service, in spite of these Gentlemen themselves, and even at the expence of their adversaries, who very often could hardly distinguish, which were the E-I's, or the prefent Ministry's friends. It was giving this Ministry a fair chance for displaying those virtues, of justice, equity, greatness of foul, openness to conviction, and retraction of errors, which make men fo superior to all ministerial craft, and which can procure them fuch a superior glory, to that, which is merely founded, on Ministerial successes, how brilliant soever; and this was done, by diminishing their danger of incurring that insupportable unpopularity, which was the bug-bear of which they were at first so forely afraid; and which I dare fay, from what I know of their characters, was a perpetual check, upon the reformed notions and inclinations of many amongst them. I cannot persuade myself, that they can be so blind, as not to have perceived this themselves; and I heartily wish I may not be mistaken, as well for their own fake, as for the fake of the nation; whose real business, I think, it is time to be

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once attended to, preferably to all past or present objects of domestic contentions. But then again, how can I persuade myself at the same time, that such a man as Don Candid's antagonist, can have their authority, for writing on their side in the manner he has done? It is in my opinion impossible, and I dare say it is just as I have guessed it once before, that he is as aukward a court-payer to them, as Don Candid is to Lord T——; if not worse in some respects, notwithstanding his well-turned slummery.

I must, however, do him the justice to say, that where he hits it right, he pleads their cause to perfection; but he stumbles on the same block of popularity, in endeavouring to establish theirs, at the expence of truth and justice, by falling soul of the E. of B—e; and such difficulties he labours under in this attempt, that he begins, and sinishes, with contradicting his own false accusations of the E—1, in the most glaring and most surprising manner. I cannot help quoting his own words in both instances. After having set out with telling Lord T—— that his performance will contain a fair

a fair answer to every thing in the principles (which he supposes to be his L--p's) that can affect the present Ministry; he immediately adds, "and as to what regards " the Favourite, I shall leave to his advo-" cates the vindication of bim, from that enormous weight of guilt and fuspicion; with which he is fo unmercifully and " cruelly loaded in the principles; not doubting but that Truth will as effentially favour " bis cause, as I am fure she does mine." And he finishes the whole of his production in this manner, " Having now laid before " the reader a fufficient and ample refutation of the charges brought against the present " Ministers, by the Writer or Writers of " The Principles of the late Changes impar-" tially examined, I cannot help concluding " with an hope to see as fair and candid an " exculpation, as I am fure this is of the or present Ministers, with regard to the un-" fortunate person who, at this time, la-" bours under the most undeserved weight of " popular odium; and who perhaps might " appear the fairer for his misfortunes, were " his case fully and impartially heard."

Can any man doubt of my infinite surprize, when after having cast my eyes upon this beginning and end of his pamphlet, I came to find, in the body of it, three or four whole pages filled up with as much violent and infamous abuse of the E—I, as I ever met with before; and introduced with this short, false and abominable sentence, "the name (not of a Favourite as he might have said) but of the Favourite, meaning the E—I, is justly odious to every Englishman."

It requires, upon my honour, a great deal of patience and zeal for ones K——g and country, as well as for the service of the Public, to follow those champions on both sides, into all their scurrilous retreats: I must own I begin to grow tired of it; and shall therefore dismiss this Gentleman, mostly in his own words, with a mere substitution of the E. of B——'s name to that of the present Ministry, in whose behalf he pretends to write, and whose pardon I beg, in case he leads me into an error. In this case, I hope, they will vouchsafe to disown him, or at least, to abandon him to the chastisement I intend him on some future occasion (if necessary). The words

words which he applies to the principles, and which I apply to his Candid Refutation are thele, in the manner I adopt them, " That " (with respect to the E. of B-), his " Candid Resutation contains nothing more " than a dull, fpun-out, (and I must add, impudent and outrageous) repetition of the " trite (and I must add, false, malicious and " confuted) charges against the E____l, " which have been hackneyed about in all " the News-Papers for these three months, " (and I must add, as many years and more); " and that it is the daring and infolent manner " in which these charges are repeated, that at length renders them worthy of notice; " and more particularly when we fee them " brought forth in a publication, that in many " respects carries with it the appearance of " authority, whose authority I shall not fay; " but the present M-y's fiat (whether " forged or not) it most undoubtedly seems to bear." that of the nation c

Majelty's accession to the throne, that envy and jealouty, and fear of checks to onbounded ambition, began to broach all forts of charges against him, before he could even have an opportunity of delerving any; and that all the charges of any importance to the Public, which have ever appeared against him, have been to fully confuted, tome by parliamentary decilions, and the rest by uncontestable facts and arguments, that if the Public remains still, in the least prepolleftion against his political principles, and public or private character, I must apply to these an old French proverb, n'y à pire fourd que qui ne veut entendre; and of which the true English is, that those who will that their ears to whatever is faid of one fide, and take for granted whatever is thrown out on the other, can never be good nor impartial judges; and that when their own interest is so much concerned in it, as that of the nation certainly is in the E-s case, they are no less to be pitied, than they deferve to be blamed,



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